

**HELP ?**

## Local workers in Gulf co-operation countries: Assets or liabilities?

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### Abstract:

*Key factors that have caused localization to dominate the economic development policy in Arab Gulf Co-operation Countries in the 1990s are discussed. A study investigated how the problem of localization can be tackled by providing employment for locals in the private sector without undermining the private sector's competitiveness.*

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The high economic growth in Arab Gulf Co-operation Countries (GCCs) during the oil boom of the 1970s and early 1980s resulted in a shortage in the number of workers needed to support the growing economy.' The swift transformation of the economy from an economy based on nomadic trade, fishing and agriculture to an economy based on hydrocarbon, construction and service industries using modern technological production processes, created a need for a new breed of skilled workers not available locally.' As a result, GCCs witnessed a major influx of foreign labour. N. Farjani<sup>3</sup> reported that at least 25 per cent of the 20 million migrant workers in the world in the 1980s were employed in the GCCs. In a region of a population of 17 to 25 million in mid 1990s there were over 12 million foreign workers.' Available data indicate that in the 1990s the percentage of expatriates to local workers in the six GCCs countries is expected to be around 90 per cent in [United Arab Emirates](#), 83 per cent in [Qatar](#), 82 per cent in [Kuwait](#), 69 per cent in [Saudi Arabia](#), 60 per cent in [Bahrain](#) and 67 per cent in Oman.

Localization in the private sector has led the economic, social and political debate in GCCs in the 1990s. The aim of localization, as stated in GCCs' development plans, is to replace non-locals with appropriately qualified and willing to work local manpower in all occupations and to continue the development of local manpower to produce a pool of human resources able to cater for the needs of the economy. Three key factors have caused localization to dominate the economic development policy in GCCs in the 1990s.

Firstly, the sharp decline in oil prices in the mid-1980s led to a substantial decrease in oil revenues and marked an end to the oil boom era. As a result, GCCs have been embarking on a cost cutting strategy to reduce the budget deficit. The average budget deficit to GDP for the six GCCs was close to 4.7 per cent in 1997 down from 10 in 1993 and 14 per cent in 1990 and total expenditures of the six GCCs were reduced from \$86 billion in 1992 to \$73 billion in 1995.<sup>5</sup> Available data reveal that during the 1988 and 1993 period remittances by foreign workers have played a major role in the current account deficit. Remittances by foreign workers totalled to an average of around \$15 billion in the first half of the 1990s in [Saudi Arabia](#)<sup>6</sup> and \$3 billion a year during the same period in Oman.

Secondly, although there is no official data on unemployment in GCCs, officials accept the fact that it is becoming harder for locals to obtain jobs. The Economist' estimated unemployment to range from 20 per cent in Oman to 25 per cent in [Saudi Arabia](#) to 30 per cent in Bahrain. High and persistent unemployment is straining the social fabric and could stir social upheaval. In [Bahrain](#), high unemployment amongst urban youth has led to political unrest in the 1990s. Furthermore, at soaring birth rates of around 3.5 to 4 per cent in GCCs, and more than half of the national population under the age of 15 years, creating employment for locals is expected to become more crucial in the future. Thus, the need is greater than ever to help displaced locals and integrate them in the labour market.

Thirdly, the oil windfalls of the 1970s and early 1980s led to the development of a large public sector in GCCs. No less than 65 per cent of public sector workers were locals in mid-1990, whereas less than 7 per cent of private sector employees were local workers. However, the recent financial constraints due to the fall of oil revenues have restricted the expansion of employment in the public sector by putting a freeze on it. Thus, the private sector is becoming the key pillar of the GCCs economy and the key sector responsible for the employment of local workers.' There is general agreement that the problem of localization is an indisputable threat to the social and political stability of GCCs. Nevertheless, as with all far-reaching economic and social transformation, localization generates losses as well as gains. Moreover, the losses are concentrated in the private sector as explained below. There is a significant current of apprehension over the implications of localization on the competitiveness of the private sector. Managers in the private sector will resist localization if it undermines their competitiveness. So far, despite the laws and regulations and the media hype about localization, employment of locals in the private sector has not changed significantly since the early 1990.9 The Economist" reports that calls by political leaders to employ locals have been largely ignored and legislative regulations are bypassed. There are five interrelated sources of apprehension over localization in GCCs.

The influx of cheap foreign labour during the past three decades led to the development of a labour intensive private sector where labour cost is important. Although, since the mid-1990s governments in GCCs have increased the cost of hiring expatriates by introducing compulsory health care for expatriates and increasing the cost of issuing and renewing work visas, local workers still are more expensive to hire than expatriates. For instance, more than 85 per cent of jobs in Saudi are paid less than the amount a Saudi would accept as a minimum" and locals demand about six times the salary an Asian is prepared to accept and will not work as hard." The underlying assumption here is that the employment of highly expensive locals will undermine the private sector's competitiveness.

Research on the management of expatriate workers in GCCs builds the view that expatriates are easier to control and more disciplined than local workers." Furthermore, work permits in GCCs are often valid for one year and expatriates do not qualify for permanent residency or naturalization regardless of their length of stay, therefore employers have few obligations towards expatriate workers who can be laid off and sent home at short notice. In addition, expatriate workers hold work permits for a specific occupation with a specific employer and therefore they can not move freely between employers without the consent of their employer or sponsor. Hence, labour turnover amongst expatriates does not exist.

The third objective ground for apprehension over localization is that the private sector employs workers from different countries and cultural backgrounds. Research reported that local workers are often not able to integrate in the multi-cultural work environment." This inability to integrate in the work environment may affect local workers performance.

Much of the inflow of the oil revenues in the 1970s and 1980s accrued directly to the public sector." As a result, the public sector was able to offer well-paid employment to locals with generous reward packages and good quality of working life. On the contrary, due to the fact that the private sector employs predominantly foreign workers, wages in the private sector are very low. As a result, the labour

market has inherited a legacy where wages in the public sector exceed private sector wages by several times."<sup>6</sup> This distortion between wages in the public and private sectors affects the locals' incentives to work for the private sector. A. Shaban et al." reported that the government sector became the only option that new entrants to the national labour force considered; a government job is perceived as a citizen's right.

Cultural values and social attitudes in GCCs stand as an obstacle for localization in the private sector. The society's perception is the product of social and cultural values and attributes, some deeply rooted in Middle Eastern history and some the product of the oil-boom experience. The sudden oil boom brought along a wave of new conceptions and ideas which gave rise to the contemporary negative attitudes towards certain work practices in GCCs. The oil boom period has been an era of almost universal abundance of wealth and indulgence in leisurely life style. Most people did not have to work as families and governments offered a cradle to grave security. In a high-culture context such as GCCs, the type of work, sector of employment and social interactions at work determine the social status of the worker and his family. Hence, workers give great importance to the affect of their work on their social recognition. For instance, while most of the jobs in the private sector are manual jobs,"<sup>8</sup> the society in GCCs holds a negative image of manual jobs. One of the main contributory factor is the association of these jobs with low-paid expatriates. Therefore, only a poor minority of GCCs nationals are expected to carry out such jobs. Even before the influx of foreign workers, these jobs were allocated to people with low social status and social interaction with them such as marriages were severely restricted." In such a culture, families and tribes take pride in not being involved in the so-called downcast works. J. Baxter reported that in Saudi:

For youngsters leaving school the barriers against desirable career paths are almost mythical. They will not accept jobs as salesman because this does not befit their social status, they will not take workshop jobs where there is a threat of physical danger. Low salaries are an insult ... the Saudi youth has too much pride to swallow. He doesn't want to come to a business and work opposite a Korean or a Filipino. He wants a manager's job from day one." Political leaders in GCCs have repeatedly appealed to locals to change their attitudes towards these jobs. For example, King Fahd of [Saudi Arabia](#) in 1998 called on Saudi youth to accept lower-grade jobs when and if they became available. Similarly, Sultan Qaboos of Oman has repeatedly urged young Omanis to help to create a modern country by never refusing a job, even one that lacks glamour.<sup>2</sup>"

Available data indicate that the number of women in schools and universities in GCCs has increased exponentially since the 1970s. Despite the high investment on the education and training of women, the participation of women in the formal economic and social sectors is still modest.<sup>22</sup> Female employment varies between 2 and 10 per cent.<sup>23</sup> In the mid-1990s Arab women's share of the labour force was the lowest among the six developing regions of the world.<sup>24</sup> This is due to the moral and religious belief amongst the vast majority of people in GCCs that housekeeping and child bearing remain life's principal objective for women.<sup>21</sup> In addition, the high fertility rate impedes women's ability to work.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, the extreme degree of occupational segregation limits women's chances to obtain work. Even for the increasing minority of young women, especially among university graduates, whose aspirations extend beyond the home into a career, their career is limited to home economics, education and nursing. For example one report summarized the options open for Saudi women as follows: '[Saudi women] will not stand in production lines in large factories, and will not work as secretaries in companies and will not work in service industry as hostesses in aeroplanes or sales assistants'.<sup>2</sup> Almost half of the women in the formal sector are confined to lower level white-collar jobs such as typists or clerks.

There is general agreement in GCCs that the problem of employment of locals in the private sector must be tackled. The first key question therefore, is how the problem of localization can be tackled by

providing employment for locals in the private sector, without undermining the private sector's competitiveness. The second question is how to overcome the social and cultural values constraining the employment of locals in the private sector and especially manual work. The present study seeks to shed light on the above question. In this context there are four core issues to be investigated. Why do managers in the private sector prefer expatriate workers?

What are the key qualities needed in locals to be employable in the private sector?

What attracts 'some' locals to work in the private sector despite the negative pre-assumptions about the sector?

What is the private sector able and willing to do to assist the localization process?

Despite the importance of localization, knowledge about localization is still very limited. There is need for empirical research which is able to develop a sound, cumulative body of knowledge upon which sound policies could be prescribed. The present study investigates private sector managers' perceptions about the key problems and solutions of localization. Specifically, the study first identifies in order of importance the key differences between local and expatriate workers and then investigates the qualities that local workers should possess to make them employable in the private sector. Finally, it examines what makes locals obtain jobs in the private sector and what private organizations are able and willing to do to attract local workers.

A total of 160 self-administered questionnaires were distributed randomly to Omani and Saudi managers in the private sector. The sample was drawn from the Muscat industrial community and the Eastern province industrial community in Oman and [Saudi Arabia](#) respectively. [Saudi Arabia](#) is the largest country in terms of both population and size among GCCs, whereas Oman is a relatively small country.

There is strong preference within Arab culture for business transactions of all kind to be based on personal contacts. Thus a postal questionnaire would have been very inappropriate, though it would have permitted a much larger sample. Thus, personal distribution was used. Other benefits of personal distribution include the overcoming problems associated with postal services and to minimize the non-response rate. In addition, personal contacts were very important in giving assurances regarding the anonymity of managers involved and in stressing the need for frank responses

Managers were assured that the questionnaires were for research purposes only and that they would remain anonymous. A total of 114 organizations (48 Omani out of 70; 66 out of 90 in [Saudi Arabia](#)) participated in the research. In addition to returning the questionnaires 5 semi-structured interviews lasting around one hour were conducted with Omani managers. All the managers surveyed were male and were relatively young (70 per cent under 40 years of age), and on average had around six years of management experience. About 42 per cent of the companies managed by the respondents were in industry and 31 and 27 per cent were engaged in trade and services sectors respectively. Close to two-thirds (62 per cent) of the organizations were share holding companies, 15 per cent were limited companies and 8 per cent sole ownership. Share holding companies were on average larger in terms of employment than the other two categories - 90 per cent employing over 100 people.

Variables pertinent to the study were measured in three parts. First, on a five point scale ranging from 1 = strongly agree to 5 = strongly disagree, respondents were asked to compare local workers with expatriates using nine criteria. The list of the criteria was prepared from the above literature and discussion with private sector managers. Second, respondents were asked to indicate in order of



importance ranging from 1= the most important to 8 = the least important, eight qualities that make local workers attractive for employment in the private sector. Third, by using the same five point scale and list of factors, respondents were asked to indicate what makes local managers and manual workers respectively attracted to work for their organization. Fourth, the same procedures in part three were repeated, however respondents were asked to indicate what they are prepared to do to facilitate the employment of local managers and clerical workers respectively.

The first step of the analysis investigates whether there is a difference between local and non-local respondents. No significant differences between the two groups is found. Hence, the two groups of data are combined as one group.

Table 1 shows means, and standard deviations of the respondents' perceptions of the key differences between local workers and their foreign counterparts. The results provide support to previous studies that indicated that locals are more demanding than their foreign counterparts. Ranked by order, the demand for higher salaries was perceived by respondents to be the key and most important difference between the two groups. Expatriates accept low salaries because they still earn more than they could earn in their home countries.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, the majority of expatriate workers are young male bachelors and therefore do not have a family to support. For local workers however, the high cost of living in GCCs makes the level of wages offered by the private sector incapable of providing an acceptable living standard for local workers.<sup>29</sup>

Interestingly, respondents perceive that locals are not less disciplined, difficult to control or less motivated than foreign workers. This reflects managerial values in the private sector explained earlier. Managers perceive that it is their responsibility to ensure the subordination of workers to management commands.

Table 2 depicts respondents' perceptions of the relative importance of the main qualities that make locals more attractive for the private sector to employ. Respondents were asked to indicate in order of importance ranging from 1= the most important to 8 = the least important eight qualities that make local workers attractive for employment in the private sector. The results indicate that respondents generally seem to perceive acceptance of lower salaries as being the most important factor that makes locals more employable in the private sector. In addition, managers perceive that locals should make more efforts to integrate in the multi-cultural work environment. At the other extreme, higher skills are perceived to be the least important quality. This confirms that the problem of localization is not primarily a problem of human resource development. The private sector's main concerns are local willingness to accept lower salaries (mean = 2.4), ability to integrate in the multi-cultural work environment (mean = 2.8), very fussy about types of work (mean = 3.01) and the poor command of the English language (mean = 3.35). Interestingly, again respondents ranked discipline and commitment to work as the least important qualities. This indicates that the belief that locals are not employable in the private sector because they are less disciplined than their foreign counterparts is not genuine. Private organizations in GCCs have to employ a certain percentage of locals by law. In addition, several organizations employ locals as window dressing for public relation purposes. In order to attract locals, private organizations have made several adjustments. It is important to note that these adjustments have been made under legal pressures requiring them to employ a small percentage of locals. Managers were asked to indicate in order of importance the key factors that have made 'the small number' of locals work for their organizations. This reveals the key factors that attract locals to work for the private sector. The scale used was as follows: 1 = highly attractive: the main reason for working in the organization.; 2 = is attractive: one of the reasons for working in the organization; 3 = average: not important (does not influence people's choice); 4 = affects locals' choice negatively towards working in the organization; 5= the main problem the organization faces in attracting local workers.

TABLE 1  
RANKING, MEAN, STANDARD DEVIATION RESULTS  
FOR THE COMPARISON BETWEEN FOREIGN AND LOCAL WORKERS

Ranking	Mean	Std Dev
Desired higher salaries	2.00	0.96
Have higher salary than expats	2.00	1.20
Desired better working conditions	2.00	1.13
Private office jobs only	2.00	1.23
Less strict than foreign workers	2.00	0.96
For family to be work	2.00	1.00
Change about type of work	2.00	0.96
Less disciplined	2.00	1.00
Difficult to control	2.00	1.20
Less motivated	2.00	1.20

N = 115  
1 = Strongly Agree  
5 = Strongly Disagree

[Enlarge 200%](#)

[Enlarge 400%](#)

TABLE 1

TABLE 1  
RANKING, MEAN, STANDARD DEVIATION OF  
CRITERIA WHICH MAKE FOREIGN WORKERS ATTRACTIVE FOR  
EMPLOYMENT IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR

Ranking	Mean	Std Dev
Accept better salaries	2.00	0.73
Willing to integrate and work in a multi-cultural environment	2.00	0.83
Less strict about type of work	2.00	0.80
Willing to learn of the English language	2.00	0.70
Good personality	2.00	0.80
More disciplined	2.00	0.80
More commitment to work and the organization	2.00	0.80
More skilled	2.00	0.80

N = 115  
1 = Most Important  
5 = Least Important

[Enlarge 200%](#)

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TABLE 2

Responses in Table 3 indicate that the main incentive that attracts locals to work for the private sector is high salaries (mean =1.94 and 2.04 for top management and clerical workers respectively). In other words, organizations have had to offer attractive salaries in order to attract local workers. That is, localization is conditional on an increase in salaries paid to local workers in the private sector. While use of skills revealed to be highly important amongst managers, clerical workers do not consider the use of their skills as highly important. This is due to the fact that clerical work is not highly valued socially and therefore, clerical workers prefer to have an office job rather than use their clerical skills in employment. Again, organizations with a better image which were usually the larger organizations find it easier to attract locals than smaller organizations. Interestingly, working hours were shown to be less important for managers than clerical workers. This may be due to the fact that managers are usually able to adapt their working hours according to their social and family commitments whereas clerical workers have to keep to official working hours. Location and promotion are the least important. As mentioned earlier, 48 respondents in the sample used in the present research were from the Muscat district where the majority of local workers live in the Muscat area and therefore our data is bias and further research is needed in this area. Interestingly, promotion is perceived by respondents to be the least important factor and does not affect managers in obtaining a job in the private sector.

It is important to note that the above concessions such as attractive salaries were made to employ only a minimum number of locals and private organizations are not willing to go down the same road if they have to employ a large number of locals. Hence, respondents were asked what adjustments and compromises their organizations are willing and able to make to become more attractive for locals and support the localization process.

Training and development emerges as the leading policy for clerical workers and second for management (see Table 4). This indicates that private organizations are willing to provide training for their employees if they accept lower salaries and adapt their social and family life to work requirements. While working hours and favourable working conditions are highly important for clerical workers, organizations are less ready to make adjustments in these two areas. Managers argue that as locals become part of a large team consisting of both locals and expatriates, employers are not able to arrange flexible working hours to fit with local workers' social and family obligations. Improving the image of the organization emerged as the leading adjustment for management jobs and third for clerical work.

[Enlarge 200%](#)

TABLE 3  
MUSCAT: LOCAL STANDARDS CRITERIA OF  
FACTORS THAT ATTRACT/IMPED WORKERS AND CLERICAL  
WORKERS TO WORK IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR

	Top Managers (Order Mean SD)	Clerical (Order Mean SD)
Salaries	(1) 3.84 (0.84)	(1) 2.86 (0.90)
Time of shift	(2) 2.88 (0.81)	(2) 2.88 (0.94)
Image of the organization	(3) 2.82 (0.88)	(3) 2.18 (0.93)
Job security	(4) 2.75 (1.17)	(2) 2.06 (0.88)
Personnel working conditions	(5) 2.38 (0.88)	(4) 2.12 (1.12)
Training and development	(6) 2.48 (0.74)	(5) 2.27 (0.82)
Working hours	(7) 2.46 (1.01)	(6) 2.38 (0.84)
Area	(8) 2.38 (0.80)	(8) 2.78 (0.98)
Procedures	(9) 2.08 (0.70)	(9) 2.42 (0.99)

N = 113  
1 = Most Important  
9 = Least Important

TABLE 3

By triangulating data in Tables 3 and 4, matches and mismatches between what locals regard as important for working in the private sector and the adjustments the private sector is willing to make to attract locals, are revealed. The results highlight a strong mismatch between what attracts locals to work for the private sector and the adjustments the private sector is willing and able to make to attract local workers. While higher pay is deemed important by locals in order to work for the private sector, private organizations are not willing to pay higher wages for locals. It is interesting to note that with the exception of salaries, respondents indicate that private organizations are more adapted to employ locals for managerial jobs than for clerical jobs.

Apart from the limitations noted above, some other issues related to this study constrain interpretation of its findings and suggest directions for further research. The sample was drawn exclusively from the Muscat industrial district and Eastern province in Oman and [Saudi Arabia](#) respectively, whose unique characteristics such as geographical location, social values and attitudes to work in the region, may limit the validity of generalizing the findings of the study to other regions in Oman and [Saudi Arabia](#) and other GCCs.

TABLE 4  
MUSCAT: LOCAL STANDARDS CRITERIA OF  
FACTORS THAT ATTRACT/IMPED PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS AND WELING TO  
MAKE TO ATTRACT LOCAL WORKERS

	Managerial Work (Order Mean SD)	Clerical Work (Order Mean SD)
Image of the organization	(1) 2.80 (0.88)	(1) 2.70 (0.80)
Training and development	(2) 2.56 (0.58)	(1) 2.58 (0.88)
Time of shift	(3) 2.80 (0.71)	(4) 2.73 (0.84)
Job security	(4) 2.60 (1.22)	(2) 2.06 (0.88)
Procedures	(5) 2.07 (1.11)	(4) 2.00 (0.76)
Area	(6) 2.73 (0.87)	(6) 2.75 (0.88)
Salaries	(7) 2.81 (0.88)	(2) 2.60 (0.86)
Personnel working conditions	(8) 2.88 (0.88)	(5) 2.17 (1.18)
Working hours	(9) 2.68 (1.11)	(9) 2.80 (1.22)

N = 113  
1 = Most Important  
9 = Least Important

TABLE 4

Second, as is the case with self-reported perception surveys, the results are always debatable. Furthermore, rigid political control and social and political sensitivity of the present topic may lead to severe social desirability response bias where individuals tend to deny socially undesirable traits and admits to socially desirable ones." Further studies triangulating various methodologies would certainly contribute substantially to a greater understanding of the problem of localization in GCCs.

At a time when all GCCs' government efforts seem geared towards the development of human resources and especially technical skills as a panacea for the problem of localization, the results in the present research indicate that skills are not perceived to be the key obstacle to localization. This does not undermine the paramount importance of skills development, but emphasizes that human resource utilization is as important as human resource development. Meeting the demand of the economy in terms of skilled workers cannot be accurately measured by the quantity and quality of skills developed, but also depends fundamentally on the extent to which skills acquired are used in employment. Human resource development is not an end in itself, and therefore if skills are not used in employment all efforts will be wasted. Therefore, it would seem to be important that more emphasis should be put on preparing the society and changing the society's negative attitudes towards working in the private sector and in particular skilled manual work than just focusing on the acquisition of knowledge or skills and building physical training facilities.

Not surprisingly, demand of higher salaries by local workers emerged as the leading obstacle to localization. The very low earning in the private sector creates little incentive to search for a job there and encourages a reluctance to work. The basic paradox here is that while local workers consider the actual low salaries in the private sector as unacceptable, private organizations are not able to increase salaries and consider the acceptance of lower salaries as a sine qua non for the success of localization. Private organizations are concerned about the negative repercussions an increase in salaries could have on cost.

Although governments in GCCs have increased the cost of hiring expatriates by introducing compulsory health care for expatriates and increasing the cost of issuing and renewing work visas, local workers are still more expensive to hire than expatriates. It is important to find ways of solving this paradox. One possibility would be through the high road of raising labour productivity. This can be done through productivity augmenting investments in technological and capital intensive technologies.

The results also highlight that cultural factors significantly impede the progress of localization. Notable among those cultural factors are the social attitudes towards clerical work and the strong social and family commitments which require flexible working hours designed to accommodate and fit the latter. In addition, results demonstrate that the image of the organization plays a pivotal role in attracting local workers. Hence, the government should encourage the development of large organizations which are perceived by respondents as more attractive to locals than small organizations. Furthermore, the study reveals that locals aiming to join the private sector should be able to communicate effectively in English and be capable of working in a multi-cultural environment.

Finally, contrary to the contention of writers on localization that locals are perceived as less disciplined, less committed to work and less motivated than their foreign counterparts, the present study found that managers do not perceive high differences between the two groups.

A key implication of the study is that although local workers include a high proportion of less qualified people, the results of the present study lead us to question the zealous emphasis on education and training as the remedy to the problem of localization. The core argument developed in the present research suggests that tackling hardcore local unemployment in GCCs needs a wide range of policies concerned with national economic development, socio-cultural changes and the physical environment of the private sector. Thus, there is greater need for co-operative actions between GCCs governments and the private sector to safeguard the private sector's efficiency and competitiveness in the face of problems generated by expanding localization. All these are important for maintaining social cohesion and staving off the political discontent that could thwart the process of localization.

### [Footnote]

NOTES

### [Footnote]

1. See Robert Looney E., 'Factors Affecting Employment in the Arabian Gulf Region, 1975-1985', International Journal of Social Economics, Vol. 19 (1992), pp.72-86.
2. A. R. Shaban. R. Asaad and S. Al-Qudsi, 'The Challenges of employment in the Arab region', International Labour Review, Vol. 134 (1995), pp.65-82.
3. See N. Farjani, In Pursuit of a Livelihood: A Field Study of Egyptians Immigration to Arab Countries (Beirut: Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 1994), pp.30-4.
4. See 'Gulf citizen, no qualifications, seeks well-paid job', The Economist, Vol. 343, No.8012 (1997), p.41.
5. H. Azzam, 'Preparing for a Global Future', The Banker, Vol.47 (1997), pp.72-6. 6. Ibid., pp 726.
7. 'Gulf citizen, no qualifications, seeks well-paid job', The Economist, p.41.
8. See, for example: 'Oman', The European Vol. 13 (1997), pp.32-7; Azzam, 'Preparing for a Global Future', pp.72-6.
9. Philip Lumsden, 'Dealing with the Problem of Localisation', Middle East Economic Digest, Vol.37 (1993), pp.46-8.
10. 'Gulf citizen, no qualifications, seeks well-paid job', The Economist, p.41.
11. See John Cooper, 'Putting the Kingdom to Work', Middle East Economic Digest, Vol.40 (1996), pp.55-9.



**[Footnote]**

12. 'Gulf citizen, no qualifications, seeks well-paid job', *The Economist*, p.41.
13. See, for example: H.S. Atiyyah, 'Expatriate Acculturation in Arab Gulf Countries', *Journal of Management Development*, Vol. 15 (1996), pp.37-40; Lumsden, 'Dealing with the Problem of Localisation', pp.46-8.
14. See, for example: F. Al-Salem, T. Farah and M. Al-Salem, *Alienation and Expatriate Labor in Kuwait* (Boston: MIT, Migration and Labor Study Group, 1979); H.S. Atiyyah, 'Expatriate acculturation in Arab Gulf Countries', *Journal of Management Development*, Vol. 15 (1996), pp.37-40; J. Baxter, 'Saudi heads in the sand', *Management Today* (March, 1985), pp.30-1; A.G. Daher and E. Al-Salem, *Manpower in Gulf Arab Countries: A Field Study of the General Situation* (Kuwait: Al-Salasil, 1985); Charles Parry, 'Saudisation', *Al-Iktissad WalAamal* (March 1997), pp.39-41.
15. Shaban et al., 'The Challenges of employment in the Arab region', pp.65-82. 16. 'Saudisation', *Al-Iktissad Wal-Aamal* (Special Issue), (March 1997), pp.42-71. 17. Shaban et al., 'The Challenges of employment in the Arab region', pp.65-82. 18. 'Saudisation', *Al-Iktissad Wal-Aamal*, pp.42-71.
19. See Atiyyah, 'Expatriate Acculturation in Arab Gulf Countries', pp.37-40. 20. Baxter, 'Saudi heads in the sand', pp.30-1.

**[Footnote]**

21. 'Gulf citizen, no qualifications, seeks well-paid job', p.41.
22. See for example: A.A. Abdulla, 'Attitudes towards Women in the Arab Gulf Region', *Women in Management Review*, Vol. 11 (1996), pp.29-39; S. Ahmed, 'Development of the status and education of women in the Arabian Gulf', *Social Affairs*, Vol. 17 (1988), pp.5-34; S. AlQudsi, 'Labour Participation of Arab Women: Estimates of the Fertility to Labour Supply Link', *Applied Economics*, Vol.30 (1988), pp.931-42; A. Eljardawi, *Problems of Kuwaiti and Arabian Gulf Working Women* (Zat-Elsalasil, Kuwait, 1986); N. El-Nabih, 'Women in the United Arab Emirates: where to?', *Social Affairs*, Vol. 17 (1988), pp.35-57; B. Ibrahim, 'Women in the Work Force', in A. Badran (eds.), *At The Cross-Roads: Education in the Middle East* (New York: Praeger, 1989); H. Zurayk and E. Saadeh, 'Women as Mobilizers of Human Resources in Arab Countries', in N. Khoury and V. Moghadem, *Gender and Development in the Arab World* (Tokyo, 1995).
23. G.S. Al-Essa, 'Social Influences of Foreign Nannies on Families', in N. Farjani (eds.), *Foreign Labor in Arab Gulf Countries* (Beirut: CAUS, 1983), pp. 169-81.
24. Al-Qudsi, 'Labour Participation of Arab Women', pp.931-42.
25. See, for example: M. Abdul-Rauf, *The Islamic View of Women and Family*. (Alexandria, VA: Al-Saadawi Publications, 1995); S. Altorki, 'Women Development and Employment in Saudi Arabia: the case of "Unayzah"', *Journal of Development Societies*, Vol.8 (1992), pp.96-110.

**[Footnote]**

26. Al-Qudsi, 'Labour Participation of Arab Women'; VM. Moghadam, *Modernizing Women: Gender and Social Changes in the Middle East* (Boulder: CO. Lynne Rienner, 1993).
27. 'Saudisation', *Al-Iktissad Wal-Aamal*, p.60
28. See for example: Atiyyah, 'Expatriate Acculturation in Arab Gulf Countries', pp.37-40; R. Owen, 'Migrant Workers in the Gulf', *Middle East Review*, (Spring 1986), pp.24-7.
29. See: Atiyyah, 'Expatriate Acculturation in Arab Gulf Countries', pp.37-40; Lumsden, 'Dealing with the Problem of Localisation', pp.46-8.
30. W.J. Zerbe and D.L. Paulhus, 'Social Desirable Responding in Organisational Behavior: A Reconceptualization', *Academy of Management Journal*, Vol. 12 (1987), pp.250-64.

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